

June 24, 1966

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

13563

than we have ever possessed in shaping and evaluating the tax policy alternatives. It is incumbent on those who are the guardians of this technology to strive to inform policy-makers of the opportunities and potentialities it affords and to keep them constantly aware of how their decisions can be more solidly grounded in empirical data and analytic support.

New techniques, however, will sometimes generate unexpected answers. Until these unexpected answers have gone through the elaborate testing which is involved in gaining professional acceptance, we will need to rely on human judgment to relate the new insights derived from the computer to the body of wisdom accumulated in the past. It is not true that any number is always better than no number at all. We must beware that the apparent certitude offered by the mass of computers can generate or the conclusions that the ranks of econometric equations can produce do not lull us into a false security. There is still room, as the computer technology develops, for a constructive two-way dialogue between the computer technologists and those whose insights come from experience and accumulated wisdom. Working together they can offer great hope and promise for an improved tax system capable of fully bearing its share of responsibility for achieving the Great Society we are seeking.

#### REX M. WHITTON—ABLE AMERICAN

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, those of us from Missouri and all Americans can be proud of the recognition just announced by the International Road Federation for an able and dedicated public servant, U.S. Federal Highway Administrator Rex M. Whitton. Mr. Whitton has been named as the 1966 International Road Federation Man of the Year.

It is significant and an honor for Mr. Whitton that he is to be the first American ever to receive this award. Other recipients have included seven from Europe, two from the Far East, five from Western Hemisphere countries other than the United States, and one from Africa.

In 1961, when Rex Whitton was literally drafted by President Kennedy to become the Federal Highway Administrator, those of us in Missouri who knew of his ability and his dedication were certain he would perform capably in the most important job which could be held by any man who has dedicated his life to building better and safer highways. This confidence was shared by Members of the Senate who had become acquainted with Mr. Whitton when he was president of the American Association of State Highway Officials in 1956 and a frequent witness before the Senate Public Works Committee on highway matters.

Since that time, his ability and work have been recognized by a great many others throughout the Nation, and now we are glad to see that the International Road Federation shares our high opinion.

I ask unanimous consent that the press release by the Federation announcing this honor for Mr. Whitton be inserted at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the release was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

U.S. Federal Highway Administrator Rex M. Whitton is the 1966 IRF "Man-of-the-Year."

The head of the big U.S. highway building program is the 16th recipient of the award made annually by the International Road Federation for distinguished service in national and international road developments.

He will be the first from the U.S. to receive the award. Others have been spread around the world, including seven to Europe, two to the Far East, five to Western Hemisphere countries other than U.S., and one to Africa.

Two ceremonies will mark the conferring of the award upon Mr. Whitton. A plaque will be presented him in Washington by a distinguished U.S. government official, and a diploma award will be a part of the opening day ceremonies of the IRF World Meeting in London on September 18. A top British Government official will preside at the London ceremonies.

When Mr. Whitton was appointed Federal Highway Administrator by the late President John F. Kennedy in 1961, he analyzed his mission as "simply to build highways quickly, economically and honestly."

The IRF Man-of-the-Year award is a tribute to his success in carrying out his goal.

Previous winners of the IRF "Man-of-the-Year" Award are: Hellmuth Swietelsky, Austria (1965); Vicente Motes, Spain (1964); G. W. Knapp, New Zealand (1963); Eduardo Dibos, Peru (1962); Werner Mackenroth, Germany (1961); Michizo Kishi, Japan (1960); Luigi Tochetti, Italy (1959); Samuel T. Tolon, Cuba (1958); K. G. R. Ahlback, Finland (1957); Luis de Carli, Argentina (1956); J. Britschgi, Switzerland (1955); Thomas J. Mahony, Canada (1954); Charles Berry, South Africa (1953); Malte Jacobsson, Sweden (1952); Romulo O'Farrill, Sr., Mexico (1951).

Mr. Whitton's selection was made by a special IRF award committee meeting in Chamonix, France in May. Announcement of the award was made in New York at an IRF meeting on June 23.

One of Mr. Whitton's difficult jobs has been to keep construction of the vast U.S. interstate highway system, the 41,000-mile network of express highways criss-crossing the nation, on schedule.

But despite rising costs and other technical problems, the network is scheduled for completion by 1973 at a total outlay of \$46.8 billion.

Although the price tag on the system rose from that originally contemplated by Congress, design improvements have accounted for a substantial part of the increase. Labor costs have risen during the period, but some of these have been offset by more efficient construction methods, including increasing use of computers.

"One thing I know," Mr. Whitton remarked recently, "the highway program is as efficiently and honestly run as any public works ever. It compares favorably with any major activity I know. I am proud of what has been accomplished."

Born in 1898 in Jackson County, Missouri, U.S.A., Mr. Whitton earned a civil engineering degree at the University of Missouri in 1920, and promptly began a 40-year career with the Missouri State Highway Department.

He advanced through the ranks to become the Department's Chief Engineer in 1951. He held that post until he became Federal Highway Administrator on February 10, 1961.

He was President of the American Association of State Highway Officials in 1956, and also served as the association's regional vice president and a member of its executive committee for a number of years.

Active with the U.S. Highway Research Board, he is currently serving on its executive committee (of which he was chairman in 1957) and as a member of its special committee on urban research. He is also a member of the Missouri Society of Professional Engineers and the American Society of Civil Engineers.

The IRF "Man-of-the-Year" achievement is only the latest in Mr. Whitton's series of awards. In 1958, he was recipient of the George S. Bartlett Award for outstanding service in highway progress in the Nation. In 1960, he received the Thomas H. MacDonald Award for continuous service in the highway engineering field. The same year the American Public Works Association, in cooperation with Kiwanis International, named him as one of the top ten Public Works Men of the Year.

The more than half completed interstate highway system is not the only monument to his outstanding abilities.

In the field of scientific traffic studies, he was responsible for providing an experimental computerized installation on a four-mile stretch of the Eisenhower Expressway in Chicago, the TV-supervised John Lodge Expressway in Detroit and the Houston Gulf Parkway with metered traffic inputs.

These and other recent traffic surveillance and control steps have led to dramatic improvements in highway use efficiency—the equivalent of adding a fourth lane to three already in use, or an increase in average traffic movement of from 10 to 12 per cent.

Mrs. Lyndon Johnson's highway beautification program was pushed hard by Administrator Whitton and the resulting Congressionally-approved law is making rapid progress in the scenic advancement of Roadside America.

Under his guidance, the nation became more highway safety conscious. One of his projects was to provide a more liberal allocation of federal funds to states that undertake to eliminate highway traffic hazards.

A summary of Mr. Whitton's distinguished career was recently made by Secretary John W. Connor of the Commerce Department, under whose jurisdiction Mr. Whitton operates.

The U.S. cabinet official said:

"In carrying out a vast undertaking, he has proved to be an efficient and effective executive and engineer whose integrity is consistent with the highest public ethics.

"His monuments are the thousands and thousands of miles of road here in the U.S. which reflect his more than 45 years of service in land communication."

Mr. Whitton has worked as hard to promote good roads internationally as he has in the U.S.

He was a principal speaker at the Fourth IRF World Meeting in Madrid in 1962, at the IRF Regional Conferences in Tokyo in 1964 and Lima in 1965, and at the Ninth Pan American Highway Congress in Washington in 1963.

He has been responsible for the sturdy support the U.S. has given the building of the Pan American Highway and under his direction the U.S. Bureau of Public Roads has contributed to the road building and improvement programs of many nations around the globe.

The global outlook which has characterized his thinking is typified by his comment at the IRF Regional Meeting in Lima:

"I think," he said, "all of us come eagerly to conferences such as this, to exchange ideas and information, and at once to learn and to teach one another.

"For it is thus that we build better roads—which build better communities, regions and nations—and a better world."

#### VIETNAM'S 12 ELECTIONS

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, Prof. Bernard B. Fall of Howard University is one of the few people in America who knows very much about Vietnam. A prolific writer, we have become accustomed to a steady flow of stimulating and eye-opening pieces. His most recent

June 24, 1966

article, "Vietnam's 12 Elections," in the May 14 edition of the New Republic, maintains these high standards.

In discussing the proposed elections in Vietnam for a constitutional convention, he points out that—

A good case could be made for the assertion that the Vietnamese have been overexposed to phony elections to such a degree that they are terribly sensitive to the stage-managing which is again likely to be going on in the name of insuring that only the "good guys" get elected.

He goes on to say further that the creation of even a passably democratic government would take time and tranquility, both of which are excessively scarce in Vietnam. The prospects are hardly good.

I commend the logical analysis in this article to my colleagues and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### VIETNAM'S 12 ELECTIONS

(By Bernard B. Fall)

(NOTE.—Bernard B. Fall, professor of international relations at Howard University, Washington, D.C., won 1966 George Polk and Guggenheim Awards for his writings on Vietnam. His book *Viet-Nam Witness* will be published this week.)

(The Vietnamese) "never had elections on a national basis and a national question. It's never happened in their whole history."—Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, Saigon, April 22, 1966.

Something like a magic curse attaches to the use of elections in settling Vietnamese problems. All along, both sides have paid homage to the sacred principle of the free exercise of popular will, only to corrupt it. And contrary to Ambassador Lodge, the Vietnamese do not lack experience in elections. Quite to the contrary: A good case could be made for the assertion that the Vietnamese have been overexposed to phony elections to such a degree that they are terribly sensitive to the stage-managing which is again likely to be going on in the name of insuring that only the "good guys" get elected.

Under the French colonial administration, the Mekong lowland areas of South Vietnam to the edge of the southern mountain plateau formed the colony of Cochín-China, which voted for representatives in the French parliament. The colonial electoral process was then about as badly twisted as in the American Deep South before the 1965 Civil Rights Act, with the result that only about 5,000 native Vietnamese participated in the election of a senator and a deputy. At the local level, however, the Vietnamese soon found out that a strong voice in the Saigon city council was an extremely effective way of getting a public hearing for the disfranchised colonials.

Officials in Saigon would do well to read again the best American account of that stormy period, written by Milton I. Sacks in Frank Trager's *Communism in Southeast Asia*. To the amazement of the colonial administration, Saigon left-wing elements as well as bourgeois nationalists coalesced in 1933 to put up an eight-man slate running as *Liste Ouvrière* (Workers' Slate). For the first time, the Vietnamese "Uncle Toms" on the city council were faced with concrete democratic demands, from the right to vote and to strike, to lighter taxes and better housing. Two of the slate's members were elected by the lower middle-class voters who came out en masse for the first time. One of them, 30 years later, would be North Vietnam's minister of labor. By the time the next municipal elections came around in 1935, the left

coalition (one of the few in the world at the time where Trotskyists and Stalinists would still cooperate with each other and with the Nationalists), gained a little further ground. Four of its members were seated.

Cochín-China's last pre-World War II elections for the colonial council—the assembly which voted the budget for the whole colony and which, in the guise of discussing budgetary matters, could handily embarrass many a colonial governor—were held on April 30, 1939. Three Trotskyists were elected to it with 80-percent majorities over French-supported candidates or competing Stalinists. Never again would Saigon hear such widely conflicting opinions confront each other in public debate, but many South Vietnamese are old enough to remember.

The destruction of the French colonial regime by the Japanese brought with it the creation of Ho Chi Minh's "Democratic Republic of Vietnam" in September 1945. Within a year, Ho's regime organized elections for a legislative assembly whose first job would be to write a constitution. The elections, which took place in January, 1946 throughout the whole country, from North to South and clandestinely even in those areas where returned French garrisons forbade them, were greeted with genuine enthusiasm. Of course, they were slanted in favor of the ruling Viet Minh alliance, but two hard facts must be remembered: in the North they took place in the presence of Chinese Nationalist occupation troops, and in the South in the presence of British and French garrisons. An American writer who observed Vietnamese affairs very closely at the time, Dr. Ellen J. Hammer, correctly observed that even by "the strictest of Western standards, a few more conservatives might have been chosen," but that the overall results would still have heavily favored Ho. And a highly-respected French observer who then was a young officer right on the spot, Philippe Devillers, noted later that, considering the times, the 1946 elections clearly reflected the realities of Vietnam. The 1946 Vietnamese elections were "on a national basis and a national question."

But it was again the turn of the French to default on their promises. A preliminary accord, signed between France and Vietnam on March 6, 1946, provided for an eventual settlement of the reattachment of Cochín-China to Vietnam by mutual negotiations; and an attempt by the runaway colonials to set up an "Autonomous Cochín-China Republic" contributed much to the outbreak of the Indochina War. When the French finally recognized the inevitable and decided to grant Cochín-China the right of free choice—they made the decision three years later, and in favor of the unpopular Bao-Dai regime—but the reelected Territorial Assembly of Cochín-China voted, on April 23, 1949, in the midst of the Indochina War, to join a unified Vietnam! The vote: 55 for reunification, 6 against, and 2 absentions. On May 21, 1949, the French National Assembly in turn transferred the colony to the State of Vietnam. Again, Vietnamese (and South Vietnamese at that) had made a key political choice at the ballot box—and it again had been for reunification.

In 1953, a new attempt was made to elect, in the non-Viet Minh zones, a first tier of municipal councils and village councils, to be topped off by elected provincial councils which, in turn, would elect a representative assembly. The French knew that the elections would go against them, but finally felt that an anti-French but palpably honest election would help their cause more than yet another phony operation. However, political rivalries among the non-Communist Vietnamese finally had the same result. In the North Vietnamese Red River delta, the right-wing governor's Dai-Viet (Great Vietnam) Party managed to have only 687 out of 5,861 villages declared as "secure" enough

for voting, which immediately raised a storm of protest and resulted in a revision of the village lists. The same problem is likely to arise in any future election in South Vietnam. The elections nonetheless took place, were predictably anti-French and in perennially radical-minded Saigon (doesn't anybody realize by now that Saigon is radical-minded?) the Taxi Drivers Union got a Trotskyist elected to the city council. The provincial council elections took place also and brought forth some strong regional leaders: Catholic bishops from the North, Cao-Dai Buddhist leaders from the South, etc.

And in October, 1953 Bao-Dai's regime, French-dominated though it was, had to face up to yet another crucial decision: a treaty with France which would seal Vietnam's membership in the French commonwealth structure. Bao-Dai convened a congress in Saigon of Vietnamese politicians and spiritual leaders as a substitute legislature. The congress included open neutralists who advocated an end to the fighting and United Nations supervision of national elections. The chief advocates of that line then were not the Buddhists, but the left-wing Catholic groups around Ngo Dinh Nhu. Predictably enough, the congress, on October 16, 1953, voted against Vietnamese membership in the French Union. Again, Vietnamese had made an important political choice in the midst of a war, and one that went against the desires of their own government and the expectations of its major foreign ally, France.

With the end of the fighting at Geneva in July, 1954, two separate Vietnamese states emerged with their own political institutions. In North Vietnam, Ho's republic now became a full-fledged "people's democracy." The 1946 parliament had, over the war years, shrunk from over 400 members to about 220. It had met only once during the Indochina War—in December, 1953—to approve the new land reform program, but its "standing committee," like the Supreme Soviet, continued the appearance of legislative control. The legislative elections in the North, held in 1960 and 1965, returned predictably 99-percent Communist legislatures, but here again, total silence has not yet set in, at least in such technical fields as budgeting and the allocation of resources. And in Hanoi, a few stubborn Socialists and Democratic Party members keep on voting their own ticket and electing one or two members to the Hanoi parliament.

#### A RUBBER-STAMP LEGISLATURE

In the South, the Ngo Dinh Diem regime also tried its hand at elections. On October 23, 1955, a plebiscite dethroned ex-emperor Bao-Dai and made South Vietnam a republic with Diem its first president. Donald Lancaster, then a British Embassy official in Saigon, stated later in his excellent *The Emancipation of French Indochina* that the elections were run with "cynical disregard for decency and democratic principles"; and *Life*, in an otherwise wholly laudatory article on Diem, remarked innocently on May 13, 1957 that Diem's American advisers had told him that a 60-percent "success" would have been quite sufficient, "but Diem insisted on 98 percent." In fact, in Saigon Diem got 605,025 votes for a total of 450,000 registered voters. The South Vietnamese legislature elected in March, 1956 was, of course, as much a rubber stamp as its North Vietnamese counterpart. By 1959, the regime shed all its pretenses: it had dissolved elected village government in 1956 (thus exposing the appointed unpopular village chiefs to immediate guerrilla reprisals) and even Catholic candidates running without the regime's approval were the object of hounding and harassment. When one lone American-trained loyal opposition candidate was finally elected in spite of the fact that 5,000 government troops were trucked into his dis-

June 24, 1966

trict to vote, he was finally barred from taking his seat on charges of vote fraud.

But again the Vietnamese showed that they had understood the election mechanism better than they had been given credit for. In 1961, Diem again ran for the presidency in the face of token opposition by two put-up candidates, one of whom was a faith-healer and the other a business associate of Diem's brother. By his own reckoning, Diem lost one million votes since 1955 (although Vietnam had gained two million people in the meantime); and in Saigon, where the foreign press watched some of the polls, he got 354,000 votes out of a total of 732,000, or 48 percent of the vote.

As the whole dynastic house of cards was collapsing under the impact of the awakened Buddhist masses, the Diem regime in October, 1963 one more went to the polls to "elect" a legislature. With one-half of South Vietnam under guerrilla control, the regime simply invented election statistics: 6.8 million voters allegedly registered for voting and 92 percent allegedly voted. The 123 "elected" legislators were a perfect cross-cut of the oligarchy which has never ceased to run things in South Vietnam: 31 "civil servants on leave," 19 lawyers, 17 teachers and professors, 15 landowners, 14 "businessmen and farmers" (!), 8 doctors, etc. There was not one factory worker, rubber plantation tapper, Buddhist leader or labor union official in the lot. The Diem regime misunderstood its people to the last.

The one thus far civilian-dominated regime since the November, 1963 coup promulgated a Provisional Charter which provided for a measure of civil rights, but whose Article 5 stated that "freedom of speech may not be abused . . . to make propaganda for Communism and neutralism." And that wasn't idle talk: four respectable non-Communist Vietnamese who had spoken of a neutralist Vietnamese solution, in terms which President Johnson would not have disavowed, found themselves expelled across the 17th parallel to North Vietnam, after several worse fates had been initially contemplated for them. Yet, on May 30, 1965, municipal elections again were held throughout South Vietnam. Of 9-million voters termed "eligible," 4.5 million actually were said to have registered for voting, and of those, 73 percent voted. Liberation Front interference was minimal, but the effect of the war was clearly visible by the fact that that there were, for example in the IIIrd Army Corps area, which surrounds Saigon, only 144 candidates for 87 posts, i.e., many posts went uncontested. Many of the local and provincial councils were never installed as the new military regime of Generals Thieu and Ky, which came to power on June 12, 1965, began a new round of administrative changes, abolished the Provisional Charter of 1964 to replace it with a brief "Convention" on June 19, which does not even mention rights of citizens; and set about ruling the country without benefit of popular advice. The illusion that this could continue *ad infinitum* without challenge (and it was an illusion which the South Vietnamese military were not alone in holding) was rudely shattered somewhere between Honolulu and Danang, a few weeks ago. And once more—for a twelfth time, by actual count—the poor, war-weary, harassed South Vietnamese people are being asked to settle their own fate via the ballot box. Providing, of course, that they vote exactly as they are expected to.

#### THE REAL ISSUE

But there, precisely, lies the problem. The South Vietnamese no longer even know *what* is expected of them; or, rather, *who* expects what from them. If they were to believe voices heard in Washington, nothing would please anyone more than if the good South Vietnamese would vote themselves a government which would ask for an end to the

war; call for direct talks with the Viet Cong; and request a gradual departure of American troops to be replaced (optimally) with the Southeast Asian equivalent of an Inter-American Peace Force; or (minimally) would at least keep the "Yankee Go Home!" signs off the walls until the last GI has reembarked.

That program might sound terribly tempting to Americans—and not only of the "dove" variety—but it happens to be against the law in Vietnam. For there is Decree Law No. 004/65 of May 17, 1965, on the books, which makes a crime, punishable by jail from one to five years (more in some specific cases) of " . . . All moves which weaken the national anti-Communist effort and are harmful to the anti-Communist struggle of the people and the armed forces. All plots and actions under the false name of peace and neutrality. . . ."

By that definition, the State Department's 14-Point program of January, 1966 would fall within the definition of such a "plot." And what the fate of a "peace and neutrality" candidate would be under such circumstances is hardly open to question. Yet, there is no evidence thus far that it is being clearly understood that this election, like the democratic system in the American Deep South, will entirely hinge on the electoral process. For it is the latter which will control whether the real issue—the question of war and peace in Vietnam—will be something on which the South Vietnamese will at long last be able to express themselves or not.

Let there be absolutely no mistake on this. The great definitions of who can vote; what issues can actually be discussed in the electoral campaign; which parties can or cannot run; whether the competing candidates will or will not get radio time on the entirely government-controlled broadcasting system; whether or not they will obtain travel space on government aircraft (for the woefully inadequate "Air Vietnam" is booked months ahead and in most places one can no longer engage in surface travel)—all these very simple nuts-and-bolts requirements of the basic democratic process must be present in Vietnam if the promised election of a constitutional convention is going to be more than yet another sham foisted on a war-weary people and an uninformed and unsuspecting foreign audience.

And those optimists who already see peace-via-the-ballot-box around the corner in South Vietnam, along with an honorable disengagement for the United States, would do well to remember that the contemplated elections would (or could) be limited to the election of a *constitution-writing* body. The regime then in existence could well deny that body legislative powers, let alone an "advise-and-consent" function in the field of foreign policy. In subsequent elections, a real legislature would have to emerge which, in turn, would form the new government. That process takes time and tranquillity under the best of circumstances. In South Vietnam, both items are excessively scarce. It would be a miracle if it took less than a year to run its course if everyone were hell-bent to make it work. Yet last week General Ky already had warned that the August 15 election deadline would have to be pushed back to October. Or later, perhaps. Preferably after victory. In a way, perhaps General Ky is logical. What is the point of going through this whole elaborate ceremonial as long as the problem of what to do with the Liberation Front—the Viet Cong—has not been solved? The Pentagon itself estimates the adversary at 80 percent South Vietnamese. The VC may simply ignore the whole thing, as they have done in the past, and go on fighting while we breathlessly admire the South Vietnamese as they go for the eleventh time through an election process which allegedly "never happened in their whole history."

And while we engage in yet another round of self-congratulations on how smoothly the Vietnamese learned the rudiments of Western electioneering which they allegedly had never seen before (who advised them on the 1955-1965 elections?), the grim little people in the thick jungles of "Zone C" and their mentors in Hanoi may well be in the process of preparing South Vietnam's twelfth election—one which will no longer be ours to inspire or to guide, and which will foreclose the future of all of Vietnam for a long time.

#### TAPPING THE GREAT RESERVOIR OF YOUTH

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, events of the past few years, and all intelligent projections into the future, clearly demonstrate that food production to meet increasing needs of population growth is a problem which promises to tax the ingenuity of mankind as efforts are made to feed and clothe the peoples of the world.

One aspect of this problem concerns the human resources we can utilize in this critical struggle to achieve full productivity of the land, both here at home and in other nations.

Where do we find the talent, the people, who can best put into motion the significant efforts required to not only achieve increased production from our own land resources but to aid those in other lands in utilizing their own natural resources for food production?

Mr. President, Duane C. Acker, dean of the South Dakota State University College of Agriculture and Biological Sciences and director of the agricultural experiment station, addresses himself to this question in an article which he wrote for the May-June 1966, issue of the *Journal of Soil and Water Conservation*.

His answer is that we go back to the land, the source of our foods and fiber, for it is there we also have the great human resource, the people. Dean Acker's suggestion can be summed up in this one recommendation to soil conservation technicians—and to any other individual who serves in the complex that is today's agri-business industry—when he says:

You have taught farmers to conserve now for future increased production. You can teach them the same regarding their children. The youth might be productive at a low level earlier, if they did not go to college, but their full potential is needed. Higher education will increase their potential and thus decrease hunger.

Mr. President, Dean Acker's guest editorial for the journal is not an "off the top of the head" idea, it is a thoughtful recommendation developed from his own extensive experience of working both with farmers and with institutions which are dedicated to making the most of our human resources by developing their talents and opening young minds to new paths of inquiry and study.

I request permission to include his editorial in the *Record* and heartily recommend his suggestions as an avenue worthy of pursuit.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the *Record*, as follows:



June 24, 1966

## AGRICULTURE'S YOUTHPOWER CRISIS

When you have an idea that needs to be "shot at," you hesitate to express it. When Al Bull invited such ideas in the January-February 1965 JOURNAL OF SOIL AND WATER CONSERVATION, I was thinking about conservation and development of rural youth; however, it was Lauren K. Soth's quoting Webster's Dictionary in the JOURNAL's Conservation Viewpoint feature four months later that seemed to justify submitting the idea.

Soth, quoting Webster, said, "Conservation may be the planned use and renewal of renewable resources so as to maintain a desired level of supply of a product." (Italicized by me.)

I am strongly committed by both logic and emotion to conserving soil, water, and other natural resources, but it seems to me that we've done more to conserve soil and water than we have to conserve boys and girls—using the above definition of conservation.

We do not have the desired level of trained youth needed in our attempts to feed the world. We shall need a greatly expanded supply of that product (trained youth) in the immediate future. Two billion of the earth's 3 billion persons now are hungry or starving. With projected population increases and projected food production, 5 billion of the 6 billion persons expected by 2,000 (that's only 35 years away) will be hungry or starving.

Nations with plentiful food supplies cannot continue to dominate the world as their populations become a smaller and smaller percentage of the total.

While efforts to check population increases are made, greater efforts will be made to feed the hungry. If that is true, and I think it is, then persons trained in food production will be needed all over the earth's land surface—and quite possibly much of the sea—in civilization's effort to feed itself and to prevent destroying itself.

Throughout rural America is a great reservoir of youth who should be developed to help supply the needed food production know-how. It will take all of the rural youth who are interested in food production, plus many of their city cousins, to do the job.

Many readers of this journal work in rural areas where the smallest percentage of high school graduates go to college. While doing your jobs of conserving soil, water and other natural resources, you might do an even more important job by conserving boys and girls, by explaining challenges in food production almost sure to confront them, and by urging them to go to college to get the training necessary to do their part.

You won't have data to support the idea of conserving and developing youth to help civilization feed itself, but you have the experience necessary to communicate the idea. Communicating an idea is the way to give it life.

You have taught farmers to conserve now for future increased production. You can teach them the same regarding their children. The youth might be productive at a low level earlier, if they did not go to college, but their full potential is needed. Higher education will increase their potential and thus decrease hunger.

The primary reason fewer rural than urban youth go to college is lack of funds. You already have taught farmers that the government helps in conserving soil, water, and other natural resources. The new educational programs provide similar help to conserve and develop our youth. I hope you learn about scholarships, loans, and other government programs that will help produce the desired level of trained youth—and tell the youth and their parents!

You already have taught farmers that, when necessary, they should borrow money to buy fertilizers to get the full potential from their land. To develop talents of their

sons and daughters it may be necessary to borrow money to send them to college.

Persuading a youth to attend college may spread your influence to other countries. Almost any youth now being trained, barring the holocaust of war, is almost certain to have opportunities to work abroad, where he can spread conservation and management.

Dr. O. W. Bidwell, a member of our staff and of your editorial board, says an investment in a college education is as important an investment in the conservation of resources as an investment in terraces and waterways, or as an investment in fertilizer, herbicides, and insecticides for increased yields.

The surplus of crops in America has given us a narrow view of the world food and population picture. Now most knowledgeable people recognize that helping underdeveloped countries feed their people may do more to preserve civilization than any other factor now known. To do it the land-grant colleges will need literally thousands of youth to train for the job.

You, the conservationist, can help in this conservation job. Encourage capable youth to attend their land-grant colleges to prepare to help in the almost insurmountable food production job immediately ahead of us.

DUANE C. ACKER.

## EQUITY FOR FARMERS

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, I am repeatedly grateful for the existence of Washington's great daily newspaper, the Washington Post.

The paper has many fine attributes which cause me to read it regularly—discerning news coverage, excellent interpretative articles, provocative columns, and thoughtful editorials—but it ranks especially high in my estimation for its understanding of the problems of agricultural income, which is rare with urban publications.

The Post on Thursday carried an excellent editorial on food prices, and the farmers' right to an equitable return. I believe thoughtful urban residents will agree with its conclusion that "we cannot safely put the burden of holding down urban costs on underpaid rural workers."

The truth of this is illustrated by the dairy situation today.

Milk production in May was 499 million pounds, or 4.1 percent below May of last year and nearly 650 million pounds below the 1960-64 average production during the month. Milk production in the first 5 months of this year was off 2.6 billion pounds. It may help understand that large figure to recall the old rule of thumb that "a pint is a pound." Dairy herds have been liquidated by the thousands, and are still being liquidated. Unless the rewards for dairying are increased and increased very soon, we can have a very critical milk supply situation in this Nation—a shortage that will send dairy product prices skyrocketing.

The Post is entirely correct in its conclusion that we cannot safely make farmers carry the burden of low urban costs. It will inevitably result in underproduction and spiraling inflation of prices.

Thoughtful producers do not want boom and bust price cycles.

Panic prices for dairy products can be harmful to the long-term welfare of

dairying by driving customers to substitutes.

The long-term welfare of both consumers and producers is an equitable price level. Consumers cannot safely expect to compensate producers less, and producers know that they cannot safely ask more.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to place the splendid Washington Post editorial in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, June 22, 1966]

## FOOD PRICES

No doubt the Government and the consuming public will be much pleased by the fact that food prices in May fell by 0.6 percent. The rate of rise in living costs generally seems to have stabilized in a gratifying way. And that surely is good thing.

The tendency to make agriculture the goat for rises in living costs has been deplorable, however, and the consuming public must not be allowed to have the notion that it can justly count on the depression of agriculture to keep urban living prices low. The American people are spending a smaller percentage of income on foodstuffs than ever before. And, in future, they probably are going to have to spend more for food if rural America is not to be discriminated against and deprived of a fair share of the rising prosperity and affluence claimed by the rest of our society.

The economic rewards of those engaged in management and labor in rural America, and the social and cultural advantages available to both, must be made commensurate with the rewards of urban workers and managers. If we do not have in the future more success in equalizing these rewards than we have had in the past, the population distribution is going to become even more unbalanced and the problems of the great cities more unmanageable. And if this is to be prevented, those who grow the food and fiber of this country, and those who live in the small rural communities that serve them, are going to have to be better paid. If that pay does not come through the market place, it is going to have to come through public revenue. We cannot safely put the burden of holding down urban costs on underpaid rural workers.

## INTERVIEW BY FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER M. COUVE DE MURVILLE TO CANADIAN BROADCASTING CORP. AND ADDRESS BY CHARLES LUCET, FRENCH AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, on June 23, at my request, there was printed in the RECORD the address of His Excellency Charles Lucet, French Ambassador to the United States, at a luncheon of the National Press Club on June 15. I had also asked unanimous consent that the interview given by the French Foreign Minister, M. Couve de Murville, to the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation on June 5, 1966, be printed in the RECORD.

Ambassador Lucet's address was printed, but the French Foreign Minister's interview was not. I ask unanimous consent that the interview be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the interview was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows: